

GUSTAVE FRANCO

Bolshevism or
Trades Unionism
WHICH ?

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MY QUARREL WITH BOLSHEVISM

THE EVIDENCE

LABOR'S PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

THE cure for Bolshevism is not in declarations or resolutions but in the exercise of normal activities.

SAM. GOMPERS.

President of the American Federation of Labor, at the Atlantic City convention, June, 1919.

THERE are no worse enemies of America than the American Bolsheviks and the crew of politicians who pander to them. We ought, therefore, to clearly understand what the Bolsheviks attempted in Russia, and what, after a year of power, they have done for, or rather to, Russia.

They utterly repudiated the idea of a democracy where every man is guaranteed his rights, and is limited in his power to do wrong. Their effort was to create a Marxian socialistic state, based on the class conscious purpose of the proletariat to rob and destroy every other class.

They oppressed and plundered impartially all former oppressors and wrong-doers, and all former champions of fair dealing and liberty. They attacked the erstwhile corrupt bureaucrat or wealthy landowner, who had neglected all his duties, not a whit more venemously than they attacked the small shopkeeper or skilled mechanic or industrious farmer or thrifty working man, who, because he had saved some money, and had begun to live decently, they denounced, as having adopted "bourgeois standards".

The followers of Trotsky and Lenin have just one lesson to teach the American people: What to avoid.

Late Col. ROOSEVELT,
in the *Metropolitan Magazine*
for December, 1918.

CHAPTER I

MY QUARREL WITH BOLSHEVISM

WHEN the workers of Russia gained control of the government of their country after long years of oppression, labor throughout the whole civilized world had high expectations of the new system that would replace autoocracy. Here indeed appeared an opportunity of opportunities to establish an ideal form of popular government. The old order of things had been swept away in the torrent of revolution. The old rulers with their bureaucratic methods, their tyrannies and their cruelties had been eliminated as with surgeon's knife. There was virgin soil upon which to cultivate a new order of things. There was at hand the raw materials out of which a democratic Republic could be formed. There was a legislation that might be used as a model for future democracies.

How far short of these expectations is the tragedy of Russia as we behold it today! I confess that in this bitter disappointment I find one of the outstanding reasons for my hatred of Bolshevism. It is not only what Bolshevism has done to Russia that must give concern to those who are working for the emancipation of labor. It is what Bolshevism has done to the cause of labor in the great world outside of Russia. The regime of Lenine and Trotzky has denied to the laborers of the world the fruits of an experiment in popular government from which mighty results would have flowed. It has fastened its ugly name and hideous acts on the legitimate aspirations of Labor so that in all too many instances labor's forward movements are represented by unprincipled and greedy capitalists as an offspring of Russian Bolshevism.

Russian Bolshevism has placed the cause of labor in Canada and in other countries on the defensive where it has a right to be on

the aggressive. Instead of helping organized labor it has handed a weapon to capitalism, a weapon which capitalism has shown a readiness to wield without mercy and without scruple. Bolshevism is becoming the popular name for every wholesome movement undertaken in the name of labor. For this, if for no other reason, organized labor has more reason to abhor Bolshevism, more reason to condemn it, and more reason to disown it by word and act than smug-faced capitalism in England and America which has really found in Lenine and Trotzky allies of priceless value.

When I condemn Bolshevism I do not by any means admit ignorance of the causes which have brought it into being. Bolshevism flowed from the sufferings of serfs who had been oppressed and exploited for centuries. It is the offspring of a system that for too long a time allowed the few to be too rich and the many to remain poor. It has been brought forth amidst the sufferings, the tears and the sorrows of millions of moujiks; by the license and debauchery exercised by a heartless and pitiless aristocracy.

Bolshevism could take root only in the barren land of ignorance and superstition. It could find followers only among the illiterate multitudes bent over a blood-stained soil producing nothing but thorns and brambles. It could have been avoided if the Russian people had been given laws based on equity and justice; if there had been fewer knouts and more books, fewer gaols and more school-houses, less superstition and more education, fewer convict keepers and more teachers. Russian autocracy under the Czar preferred to choke the great voice of the people in their natural thirst for liberty and reform. It preferred to put them to death by thousands, ignoring the fact that violence calls for violence, that truth does not stop going forward and that to deny the people the reforms they demand peacefully is to run the risk that it may do justice to itself and gain those reforms by force. This inexorable principle of human progress was flouted by the Russian autocracy. Will it be flouted also by capitalism at whose door the people of the world are knocking as

insistently as the Russian workmen and peasants knocked at the door of the Czar.

Violence and injustice have replied to violence and injustice in Russia with a vengeance, but the Russian people are as far from emancipation as they were before. The dictatorship of the Czar has been succeeded by the dictatorship of Lenine and Trotzky, carrying with it murder, misery and oppression. The law of brute force is exercised with ferocious energy. The doctrines of equality preached by the apostles of an emancipated proletariat have been engulfed in a storm of popular revolt. The world is confronted with the dictatorship of a proletariat all the more dangerous that it is ignorant, all the more cruel that it has never seen anything but violence, all the more eager for possession and enjoyment that it has ever lived in black poverty and that life has always been for it a long nightmare of sorrow and grief.

The reaction of Russia has been terrible, but it overshot its mark. It is not the apostles of thought who have seen the triumph of their ideas; it has not been those who were seeking a real emancipation of the people by just laws and the establishment of a truly democratic government — guaranteeing to all complete and full liberty—that became rulers in this social revolution. The leaders of labor in Russia were ignored and despised. Their long years of effort and sacrifice were rendered useless. They were put to death by a pack giving vent to its passions after having chosen for its leaders men of brutal desires, men devoid of ideals and sincerity. These men became the oppressors of a rising democracy and were using the proletariat to proclaim themselves dictators and autocrats, choking with terrorism the protestations of their victims, ruling through the satisfied appetites of their supporters, and converting the reign of a proletariat conscious of its rights, but also of its duties, into a shameless and bloody dictatorship.

Under a so-called socialist and communist regime, all the institutions which constitute real democracy have been destroyed; brute

force and violence have been used to suppress or oppress all who opposed the creation of political and economic tyranny.

No system of democratic government designed to endure can be instituted unless based on justice, liberty and equality of all before the law. To confiscate the property, wealth, industry and trade of a citizen because he does not belong to the proletariat is to commit injustice, even if such confiscation were made in the interest of the masses. To deprive this same individual of his rights as a citizen after having despoiled him, to punish him because he has owned property, is to commit a real crime and to act contrary to sound democratic doctrine.

A country may and should control all its means of production and distribution. That object is realizable and necessary for the welfare of all; but no society can declare itself connected with democracy if it is creating inequalities amongst its citizens. The control of the state must reside in the participation of all and not only in that of a class or a caste, be it military or capitalist, be it composed of laborers, peasants and soldiers.

The Bolshevik system is contrary to the development of democracy because it is nothing short of a dictatorship based on crime, injustice and inequality before the law; it is intolerance itself and has adopted for its motto: *Liberty in its widest form for a class but complete oppression for the others.*

Indeed, this is the opinion of the best informed socialists, and of the most enlightened labor leaders of the world, as expressed by the International Socialist and Labor Conference held in Berne (Switzerland), last February, by the adoption of the resolution entitled "*Democracy and Dictatorship*", a resolution supported by the delegations of Sweden, Germany, Russia, Esthonia, Lettland, Georgia, Alsace, Argentina, Denmark, Bulgaria, Armenia, Hungary, Finland, Great Britain, Poland, Canada, Ukrainia, the minority of France and Italy, and the half of the delegation from German Austria. This famous resolution contained the following:

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP

A.—Resolution of the Commission.

"The Conference hails with joy the tremendous political revolution which in Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany have shattered the old imperialist and militarist regimes and have overthrown their governments. The Conference launches an urgent appeal to the Socialists and workers of these countries to build up democratic and republican institutions on the basis of which the great work of Socialist reconstruction may be accomplished. In these decisive times, when the problem of the socialist reconstruction of the world becomes even more pressing and urgent, the working masses must unanimously decide upon a clear plan of action which will lead to their emancipation.

"In full agreement with all previous congresses of the International, the Berne conference takes a decided stand upon the principles of democracy. The reorganization of society, as it becomes more and more permeated with socialism, cannot be realized, much less established, unless it rests upon the triumph of democracy and is firmly rooted in the principles of liberty.

"The institutions which form the basis of all democracy: liberty of speech and the press, the right of assembly, universal suffrage, the parliamentary system, with governmental responsibilities, the right of coalition, &c., provide the working masses with the instruments necessary for carrying on their struggles.

"As the result of recent events the Conference desires to make the constructive character of the Socialist programme absolutely clear to all. Socialization consists in the methodical development of different branches of economic activity under the control of democracy. The arbitrary taking over of a few undertakings by small groups of men is not Socialism, it is nothing less than Capitalism with a large number of shareholders.

"Since in the opinion of the Conference the effective development of Socialism is only possible under democratic law, it follows that it is essential to eliminate from the outset all methods of socialization which would have no chance of gaining the adhesion of the majority of the people.

"Such dictatorship would be all the more dangerous if it rested upon the support of only one section of the proletariat. The inevitable consequence of such a regime could only be to paralyse the forces of the proletariat by fratricidal war. The result would be the dictatorship of reaction."

The foregoing resolution is really a formal and categorical condemnation of the Bolshevik system which is self explanatory. It is to be deplored that a certain group of workers in Canada still believe that Bolshevism can bring to them social emancipation and can put an end to all their evils. It is a fatal doctrine which needs no further refutation than the crimes and miseries that have attended the rule of Lenine and Trotsky in Russia from the beginning of their dictatorship to the present day. Concerning these crimes and

miseries there are in labor circles divergent views and conclusions. There are those who believe that the sins of Lenine and Trotzky have been exaggerated in the interest of capitalism and that the Russia of today is not the land of murder, hunger and desolation it is represented to be. I have made an earnest endeavor to get at the truth of these charges and counter charges. In the following pages I offer the fruits of my endeavor in this respect. The reports from which information is taken are official or gathered from sources which are known to be authentic. In no instance have I drawn upon newspaper stories or allegations which are not backed by names and dates. I will state in all sincerity my own conviction that the information to be found in the following pages is to be fully relied upon.



CHAPTER II

THE EVIDENCE

THERE are two official reports which describe in considerable detail Bolshevik rule in Russia. One is a synopsis given before the sub-committee of the Senate at Washington by Mr. David R. Francis, United States Ambassador to Russia from April, 1916, to November, 1918. As Dean of the diplomatic corps there Mr. Francis had special facilities for acquiring information and making observations. In no instance is his evidence denied by the diplomatic representatives of other nations who were along with him, and who included, of course, those of neutral nations. The other is a collection of reports presented to the Parliament of Great Britain and laid on the table of the House of Commons, Canada, April 29th, 1919. Each of these reports is so full of details, so circumstantial, and cover so many activities and such a wide field of action it could scarcely be expected that people will believe that all the evidence presented was invented for the special purpose of blackening the characters of the leaders of Bolshevism. These reports belie every claim put forward by friends of Bolshevism in Russia.

TESTIMONY OF SOCIALISTS AND LABOR LEADERS

Herman Geulich, one of the oldest and most eminent of Socialists in Europe, and a life-long friend of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, deplored recently in an interview the condition of Russia. He tells that we:

"Must give socialism a chance to develop and you must give human nature a chance to grow up to it; you cannot socialize things by sheer force... it is not Socialism, at any rate not scientific Socialism, to solve one problem by creating another... Bolshevism is doomed to bankruptcy because it has not a leg to stand on from the standpoint of both scientific and practical economics."

Catherine Breshkovsky, known popularly as the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution", who suffered plentifully for the cause, gave evidence at Washington and writes rather extensively for the press since being in America. Of Russia under Bolshevik rule she says:

"Flooded with tears and blood, Russia moans and cries out to the world. She is a living body, and her tortures cannot be looked upon cold-bloodedly as an extraordinary, never-before witnessed experiment in social evolution. She is alive, and every pore of her body is shedding blood."

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, before the National Civil Federation, New York, April, 18, 1919, said:

"In theory Bolshevism is an impossibility. In fact, if it were put into operation, or could be put into operation, it would mean the decadence or perversion of the civilization of our time. To me the story of the desperate Samson who pulled the Temple down on his head, is an example of what is meant by Bolshevism. I am not willing that all of the genius of past ages should be flung to the winds. And I am not willing that the little service that I may have been able to render during the long years that I have attempted to improve conditions in a constructive way should be destroyed by maddened desperation. And so I may say to you that it is well for us to see now that our own house is kept in order."

Vladimir Boursteff, for thirty years a champion of liberty in Russia against the Czar, and an ex-exile of Siberia in an open letter to Bernstein before the latter left for America stated:

"When asked under what conditions we Russians are working please characterize them by one word — HELL!"

Titoff, Socialist member of the Russian delegation which visited London, last winter, made a statement in which he says:

"Under the cloak of Socialism, tyranny has been restored. The situation created in northern and central Russia threatens to produce general starvation, complete ruin of economic life and the annihilation of the Russian educated classes and of Russian civilization."

M. Tchaikofsky, head of the temporary government of Northern Russia, and a Socialist Revolutionary, in a manifesto recently said:

"In Russia this usurpation takes the form of the continuous government of the country under the 'state of siege' and the 'state of war', with which the Tsar's Government ruled the country till 1917, with the short interval of 1905-6, at the time of the first Russian Revolution. The Soviet power established this political regime after the October coup d'état, 1917. Since

then it has succeeded in committing more crimes and acts of violation than the Tsarist government in all the 27 years of its unnatural military dictatorship."

Maxim Gorky, a great literary figure in Russia and himself sharing Bolshevik principles, though not working with Lenin and Trotsky, printed in his paper, which was suppressed on that account, perhaps the severest attacks on their government which has yet appeared. One of his statements is as follows:

"Weary of the war, and very unhappy, this people has already paid for Lenin's experience with thousands of lives. It will cost it tens of thousands more. But this atrocious tragedy never makes Lenin hesitate, for he is the slave of dogma, and his partisans are his slaves. Lenin does not know the people. But he does know — from his books — how to arouse the masses and how to excite their passions. The only thing known to Lenin, the only thing he knows how to do, is to excite. That is why he is increasing his army so fast. The number of troops has been increasing more and more widely introduced. All this must lead, and in some places has already led, to a war of all against all, to a civil war, to a universal anarchy."

Oscar Tokai, formerly Socialist Prime Minister of Finland:

"Only a small majority supports the (Bolshevik) Government; and, what is worse, to the supporters of this government are rallying all the hoodlums, robbers, and others to whom this period of confusion promises a good chance of enrichment."

Mr. H. V. Keeling, who escaped from Russia and who went there over five years ago to teach certain processes in the lithographic and printing trade, and who consequently has an inside knowledge of conditions under Bolshevik rule, gave an interview to the *Westminster Gazette* (London) in which are detailed a most harrowing description of the miseries suffered by the people. Among other things he said:

"Bolshevism, in fact, has become a vested interest for its privileged class, and Lenin and Trotsky are obliged to go on feeding the few, starving the many, and shooting the objectors."

"It is terrible to live in Russia in these times. As you walk about Petrograd you never see any one laugh or smile. Men and women are like shadows, and little children so wasted that they seem to be all eyes. And all the time people are disappearing and nobody knows what becomes of them."

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Five years ago Petrograd had a population of 2,400,000. Now there are scarcely 100,000.

"I am a workingman and a trade unionist, and I don't like to hear British workmen talking as if Bolshevism was a great and splendid experiment, to be copied in other countries... I want to say too, that it won't do socialism any good to mix up with Bolshevism, or to make people think that if Socialism is tried, it must end in wholesale murder and starving millions of people to death. But that is what will happen if working people confuse Socialism with Bolshevism, and suppose that a Socialist must support the Bolsheviks."

The Executive Council of the British and Constitutional Labor Party met in London in February and issued a manifesto calling upon workers to support the constitutional labor movement against Bolshevism and revolution, in which it stated:

"The war was won by the unswerving loyalty and unity of the mass of the people. What are you going to make of it — will you make it as near a hell or as near a heaven as you can. If you desire a hell go on with the job. Raise the Red Flag of Revolution and you will find you have created a hell for yourselves, wives and families such as Dante never pictured."

G. D. L. Horsburg, chief engineer of Messrs. Egerton Hubbard's textile works at Schusselburg, who recently escaped from Russia, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, explained how the Bolsheviks' theory of government broke down in practice. First and foremost, he says, was the Utopian nature of their proposals, "which could ultimately only end in disaster," and then they were unable to feed the people along with many other conditions such as the racial diversity and character of the people, lack of co-operation, etc. He goes on:

"To combat these difficulties, the Bolsheviks were driven to methods foreign to their most cherished ideals. They abolished the freedom of the press and free speech. They reintroduced capital punishment and arrest and confiscation of property without trial, and went much further than autocracy ever dared to go. The only people in Russia who were assured of enough to eat were the soldiers and sailors of the Red army and fleet, and by them the Bolsheviks maintained themselves. Finally, hated by the great majority of Russians, cut off from all trade with the outside world, starving, bankrupt and alone, these men went red mad and instituted a terror worse than that of the French Revolution... Russia... or that part of it under the Bolshevik influence became a shambles... The workmen could not be induced to work, the

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Intelligence was completely cowed and apathetic, speculation was carried on despite all efforts to check it to an unbelievable degree, and bribery and corruption were rife everywhere as before."

M. Philippe Jeannette, a Swiss professor, who has been through the Bolshevik lines and knows Russia and its people well and to whom the designs of the Bolshevik leaders were revealed in his journey from Kazan to Moscow speaks of the wild dreams of the Bolshevik for world conquest and expresses his astonishment at "the vast display of military power", mainly Letts and Hungarians, organized for this purpose. He urges that strong measures be taken before it is too late, "otherwise Europe will be plunged in a sea of blood". In their plans after the invasion of Germany and Austria, the leaders looked for the Germans and Austrians to join them in great numbers and to fight with them against the French and English in the spirit of "immediate revanche". In one paragraph, he makes this statement:

"The cruelty and bestiality of the Letts, who hold nearly all the important posts under the Bolshevik Government surpass belief. The horrors at Kasann, where 250 men, women and children were walled up in a cellar and left to starve were perpetrated by order of the Lett Commissary with the Bolshevik Army."

Sir George Buchanan, late British Ambassador in Russia, wrote in the *Fortnightly Review*:

"Russian workmen and peasants alike have realized too late by bitter experience what Bolshevism means and how it has spoiled ruin both for themselves and their country. Liberty, the watchword of the Revolution, has long been a dead letter... it is the monopoly of a single class, of a minority which through its Red Army terrorizes the majority of the nation. All who do not subscribe to the articles of the Bolshevik creed are disfranchised; all papers which do not support the Government are suppressed. Justice is unattainable, or only to be bought, and corruption is rampant. Never since the days of Ivan the Terrible, has Russia suffered from such tyranny; and when some weeks ago, the Bolsheviks feared that their power was on the wane, they indulged in an orgy of massacre and pillage, in the hope of overawing a helpless people with the Red Terror. Nobody's life is safe... The process of passing sentence on individuals is even found too slow, and they are massacred in batches, the Red Guard or the Chinese Mercenaries employed as executioners being free to choose their victims from the list of the proscribed."

A. J. Sack, Director of the Russian Information Bureau, New York:

"As Catherine Breshkovsky, the 'Grandmother of the Russian Revolution', the living symbol of the consciousness of the Russian people, says in her wonderful message to the 'American People': 'The demand for a Constituent Assembly was one of the main slogans of the Russian Revolution. It was all but one of its conditions when the Bolsheviks revolted, on November, 1917, to overthrow the existing government, to bring about peace and to make the laws of the country reflect the interests of the people.' The Constituent Assembly has not yet been elected, but the Russian people have elected a new life in the Soviet Government, and the Russian people are now beginning to realize the

GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND POLITICAL LIBERTY

Since the Russian Revolution, the Russian people have been free to elect their own representatives to the Constituent Assembly, and to elect their own representatives to the Soviet Government. The Russian people have been free to elect their own representatives to the Soviet Government, and to elect their own representatives to the Soviet Government. The Russian people have been free to elect their own representatives to the Soviet Government, and to elect their own representatives to the Soviet Government.

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PRODUCTION

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"The estimate as to the state of trade conditions in Central Russia in October last is given. The metal trade was practically at a standstill. The linen trade production was 50% of normal; and being reduced work people were starving and resorting themselves from their work searching for food. In the woollen trade production was decreased 50% and so in cotton trade, where 50% of the mills were stopped. The silk trade is practically dead. Coal has fallen 60% in production, but heavy crops were produced and peasants had made money. Railway systems in Moscow and Petrograd were down to

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one-fourth of their normal service. All lands, buildings, machinery, etc., were nationalized without any compensation being paid to the former owners. The result has been an utter deadlock, all private interests being killed."

REASONS FOR BOLSHEVIST SUCCESS

The leaders had several plastic elements to deal with in a disorganized, distracted and defeated Russia — the peasants who constitute over 75% of the population and almost wholly illiterate, about 10% of industrial workers and an army whose rank and file were hungry, miserable and broken in spirit, added to which were a flood of convicts released from jail and exiles in Siberia.

The simple direct but awfully insidious doctrine of everything relating to the people and the injunctions to go in and possess appealed to the primal instincts of a hungry people.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The following is reprinted from British Government reports, and is sustained by the evidence, official and otherwise, which has been collected in great volume from all parts of Russia:

"Fourth, the Bolsheviki have abolished even the most primitive forms of justice. Thousands of men and women have been shot without even the mockery of a trial, and thousands more are left to rot in prisons under conditions to find a parallel to which one must turn to the darkest annals of Indian or Chinese history."

MILITARISM GOES HAND IN HAND WITH BOLSHEVISM

Bolshevik literature in America is opposed to militarism. Bolshevik in Russia is maintained by means of a standing army recruited by conscription and from the foreign elements. It is, or has been, growing rapidly and has for its professed object the conquest of Europe for Bolshevism. It is trained by professional military men and is stated to be at present in an excellent state of discipline. In order of importance, the Army ranks first in Russia.

THE VALUE OF MONEY

The printing presses of Russia have been very busy turning out indiscriminately and in prodigious quantities paper money, until it

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has practically no value. In a recent interview Lenin announced that the object of making money in this wholesale way was to prove its valuelessness. As a consequence of the abnormal issue of bills, without relation to any gold or other substantial reserve, the prices of the necessities of life, especially food, are correspondingly high. Although labor is paid at very high rates, the purchasing value of the wages is practically nil. For instance a rouble is nominally worth 53 cents, but wheat flour is worth 20 to 25 roubles per pound, rice 40 and butter 100.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Bolshevists in America proclaim the freedom of the press and denounce all forms of censorship. In Russia there are no newspapers of any kind permitted to be published except Bolshevik papers. The same is true of freedom of speech and the holding of meetings. A mass meeting of 10,000 workmen was held at the Putilof works and a resolution passed, among other things, protesting "against the compulsion of workmen to remain at factories and works, and the attempt to deprive them of all elementary rights, freedom of the press, speech, meetings, inviolability of persons, etc."

TYRANNY OF BOLSHEVISM

Reprinted from a report presented to British House of Commons.

On the 10th March a mass meeting was held at the Putilof works; 10,000 men were present, and a resolution was passed, with only twenty-two dissentients, all of whom were complete strangers unconnected with the works. The following extracts show the tenor of the resolution:

"We, the workmen of the Putiloff Works Wharf, declare before the laboring classes of Russia and the world that the Bolshevik Government has betrayed the high ideals of the October Revolution, and thus betrayed and deceived the workmen and peasants of Russia; that the Bolshevik Government acting as formally in our name is not the authority of the Proletariat and peasants, an authority and dictatorship of a central committee of the Bolshevik party, self-governing with the aid of extraordinary commissions, Communists, and police.

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The carrying of the resolution was received with cries of "Down with dictatorship!" "Down with the Kommissars!" "To the Courts with the Bolshevik hangmen and murderers!"

The Government took steps to put down any further manifestations, and anyone found in possession of the resolution was at once arrested.

A demand was made by the delegates of the Putilof Works that the resolution of the 10th March should be published in the *Northern Commune*, but this was refused by the Kommissars of the Interior. On the 16th March Torin incited Bolsheviks to kill the Social Revolutionaries, and Zinoviev brought into Petrograd a number of sailors and soldiers of the Red Army. The force was composed of foreigners, mainly Letts and Germans. During the next two days 300 arrests took place in the workshops, and suspected ringleaders and Social Revolutionaries were shot wholesale.

NATIONALIZATION OF WOMEN

The nationalization of women in Russia has been denied and on fairly good authority; but that edicts to that effect have been promulgated by several of the local soviets and that attempts have been made in some instances to give them effect are undoubtedly true.

PRACTICE VERSUS IDEALISM

From a great mass of extracts from the Russian (Bolshevik, the only kind permitted) press, collected and published by the British Government, the following are selected:

Krasnaya Gazeta, organ of the Red Army, September 1, 1918, headed "Blood for Blood":

"We will turn our hearts into steel, which we will temper in the fire of suffering and the blood of fighters for freedom. We will make our hearts cruel, hard and immovable, so that no mercy will enter them, and so that they will not quiver at the sight of a sea of enemy blood. We will let loose the floodgates of that sea. Without mercy, without sparing, we will kill our enemies in scores of hundreds. Let them be thousands; let them drown themselves in their own blood. For the blood of Lenine and Uritzki, Zinovief, and Vorodarski, let there be floods of the blood of the Bourgeois — more blood, as much as possible."

Krasnaya Gazeta writes: "Whole bourgeoisie must answer for this act of terror. Thousands of our enemies must pay for Uritsky's death... We must teach the bourgeoisie a bloody lesson.... Death to the bourgeoisie."

An attempt having been made on the life of Lenin, a proclamation was issued by the Extraordinary Commission signed "Peters":

"This crime will be answered by a 'massive terror'. Woe to those who stand on the path of the working class. All representatives of capital will be sent to forced labor, and their property confiscated. Counter-revolutionaries will be exterminated and crushed beneath the heavy hammer of the revolutionary proletariat."

"All Right Social Revolutionaries must be immediately arrested. Considerable numbers of hostages must be taken from bourgeoisie and former officers. At the slightest attempt at resistance, or the slightest movement in White Guard circles, mass shootings of hostages must be immediately employed. Indecisive and irresolute action in this matter on the part of local Soviets will be severely dealt with."

Borisoglebsk, 16 September,—For an attempt to organize a movement in opposition to the Soviet power, nine local counter-revolutionaries were shot, namely,—two rich land owners, six merchants and the local "Corn King" Vasiliev.—*Northern Commune*, Sept. 16, No. 106.

Resolution passed by the Soviet of the First Urban District of Petrograd:

".....The meeting welcomes the fact that mass terror is being used against the White Guards and higher bourgeois classes, and declares that every attempt on the life of any of our leaders will be answered by the proletariat by shooting down not only of hundreds, as is the case now, but of thousands of White Guards, bankers, manufacturers, Cadets (constitutional democrats) and Socialist Revolutionaries of the Right."—*Northern Commune*, Sept. 18, 1918.

"To overcome our enemies we must have our own Socialist Militarism. We must win over to our side, 90 millions out of the 100 millions of population of Russia under the Soviets. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them, they must be annihilated."—Speech by Zinoviev: reporter in the *Northern Commune*, September 19, No. 109.

These are but a few out of hundreds of such references.

Desertions from the Red Army are regarded as criminal and punishable by death, if deemed necessary by a Military Revolutionary Tribunal. The policy is expressed in a single sentence, as follows:

"A deserter needs neither bread nor a refuge, but a bullet. Bread and a refuge are due only to the proletariat Red Army." (The Military Revolutionary Tribunal at the Front.)

AUTOCRATIC, NOT DEMOCRATIC

The claim that Bolshevism in Russia is an ideal democracy or even a form of democracy is denied by the methods employed. All evidence goes to show that it is autocratic in the extreme.

It is also autocratic in the articles of the constitution. In the last analysis it is pure despotism as the following extracts will show:

1. "The Central Executive Committee is the highest organ of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets."

2. "The Central Executive Committee exercises the power of convocation of the Congress of Soviets."

3. "The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is the highest organ of power in the Soviet Republic. It exercises the power of convocation of the Central Executive Committee."

4. "The Central Executive Committee is the highest organ of power in the Soviet Republic. It exercises the power of convocation of the Congress of Soviets."

In the exercise of the Central Executive Committee, which means Lenin and Trotsky, is absolute supremacy. Very recently Bolshevik leaders have announced that absolute authority is necessary for their purposes.

NOT A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT

All the evidence contained in various reports prove that those who have suffered most under the new regime are Socialists opposed to the methods and aims of the Soviet leaders and who are persecuted as "counter-revolutionists." Most important of all we have the statements of the two leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, themselves as to their principles and intentions which are neither socialistic or democratic.

Trotsky in reviewing his Red Guard said:

"The collapse of the central powers might be a great triumph for Russia, but if we do not follow it up in the right way by striking hard at the Imperialists of England, France and America it will be a great misfortune."

"Soldiers of the Red Guard! Now that you have rooted out the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries at home you must attack them unshrinkingly abroad."

NO PEACE IN RUSSIA

Russia expected to get peace and prosperity as the result of the new system of Government. It got war, civil war, instead.

THE EVIDENCE

RUSSIA NOT FREE

It is expected to be happy and free. It has been terribly unhappy and subject to a system in which freedom, except in the form of license, is unknown.

THE PEASANTS WITHOUT LAND

The peasants expected to have all the land in Russia divided up amongst them. It was their reason for supporting the Bolshevik Revolution. They do not own an inch of it and are exceedingly miserable in the present state of affairs.

RELIGION

All church property in Russia has been confiscated and it is a country without churches. When it is stated that all churches are on the same footing, it really means they are on no footing at all.

EDUCATION

Education has practically no more status than religion. The schools which exist are managed on the basis of committees of the children themselves and there is neither discipline nor progress.

LABOR WITHOUT ITS FRIENDS

As to labor attaining its full share of its own honest efforts which is the main claim of Bolshevism and its justification, workingmen are in a worse plight in Russia than ever before. Their wages are regulated by their own committees or Soviets and are nominally high but they are paid by the Government in money which is practically of no value. What little food there is to be had is at abnormally high prices.

A SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

A summary of available evidence bearing on Bolshevik rule in Russia may be summarized as follows:

The Kerensky government would have reorganized Russia, and continued to help against Germany if it had not been for the Bolsheviks.

THE EVIDENCE

If Russia had not failed in her obligations to her allies the war would have been won a year sooner, saving hundreds of thousands of lives.

The Bolsheviki maintain themselves by terror — they have to kill people to last.

They have murdered and looted beyond all calculations.

They have suppressed free speech, and press and personal liberty.

They have held no honest elections, and do not permit local control of the local Soviets.

They have published decrees nationalizing women and if these have not been enforced, as they say, they have, nevertheless, enforced laws on marriage and divorce which are below barbaric standards.

Industry is utterly paralyzed. The country is dying of starvation.

They are guilty of the basest treachery to the Czecho-Slovaks, at German command.

After ruining her army, they introduced conscription, not to fight the Germans, but her own people.

They have made money so valueless that food can only be got by bartering clothes. When the clothes were gone the Russian poor had to starve.

They have executed thousands (Gorky says 10,000) without any form of trial, death warrants signed by Peters, an anarchist known to the London police.

They have shot many Socialists whose only crime was denouncing Bolshevik excesses.

They refused to hold elections. They suppressed newspapers that criticized their actions.

They re-established the secret police, with an innumerable host of informers.

They abolished religion, religious services, marriage rite, if performed being dissolved at the will of the man.

THE EVIDENCE

They abolished all law, except such as is contained in the decrees of the Soviets.

BOLSHEVIST SYNTHESIS

Dr. Nathalie Wintch-Maleef, in a pamphlet recently published sets forth an account taken from Bolshevik papers in Russia, the paper being a synthesis of all their statements in order that it cannot be stated that it is exaggerated with respect to the Bolsheviks. It is summarized as follows:

The Bolsheviks are:

1. They are:

2. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

3. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

4. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

5. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

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11. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

12. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

13. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

14. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

15. They are the only party in Russia which is not a party of the people.

The whole situation is summed up thus: the bureaucrats of Petrograd are the only party in Russia, these considered as "Bourgeois" by the Bolsheviks receive every other day a small herring. The whole machinery of the government is in confusion, it is administered by inexperienced and incapable members. The great hope of the Bolsheviks is to reduce all other countries to be in a like state to Russia. The Bolsheviks look upon social-democrats as their worst enemies.

SOCIALISTS CHALLENGE BOLSHEVISM

On July 13, 1918, the party of Socialists-Revolutionists and the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party addressed an appeal to the Socialists of Europe and proposed that an international Socialist

THE EVIDENCE

commission should go to Russia and make the investigations necessary to answer the following questions:

1.—Are we right, yes or no, when we declare that the Bolshevik government has degenerated into an instrument of reaction and, although it hides behind the words 'the will of the workmen and peasants,' does not shrink from the most extreme and violent measures of oppression directed against these same workmen and peasants?

2.—Are we right when we declare that the Bolshevik government has now no other aim than to preserve at all costs its own power, and that with this object it is ready to sacrifice all the conquests of the Revolution and take refuge in a state of terrorism directed not against the bourgeoisie, but against the other Socialist parties and the mass of the proletariat and peasants whom they represent, and that, finally, eager to justify itself in the eyes of the foreign conqueror, it has not hesitated in connection with the Mirbach incident to lay at his feet the dead bodies of 200 of its own Social-Revolutionary countrymen?

3.—Are we right to declare that Bolshevism has done nothing to apply Socialist principles and has only succeeded in destroying industry and bringing about universal unemployment and starvation?

4.—Are we right when we declare that the Bolshevik government denies us every possibility to open discussion to struggle for what we consider to be Russia's only hope of salvation, namely, the summoning of the Constituent Assembly and the reestablishment of popular means of local administration—in the hands of the people?

5.—Are the Bolsheviks right when they assert that all other Russian Socialist parties are seeking not to free the working classes from the despotic oppression of a small minority, but, in concert with the bourgeois and monarchist elements to bring about a counter-revolution?

The appeal was signed, in behalf of the party of Socialists-Revolutionists, by Nicholas Rusaney, and in behalf of the Social-Democratic Party, by Paul Axelrod, both *veteran leaders of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia.*

CHAPTER III

LABOR'S PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

YOU have now visualized the blood-drenched horrors of Bolshevism. It shows that the moral weakness of men is the one thing that makes tyranny possible. This scourge of the world met condemnation at the International Socialist and Trades Union Conferences held at Berne, Switzerland, in February last, which I had the honor to attend as one of the delegates from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

While ultra-radicals in Europe contemplated social organization, the Trade Union movement did not champion or anticipate the hoisting of the flag of rebellion but foresaw the suppression of Bolshevism by endeavoring to mediate between two dictatorships, that of capital and that of labor, and ending by the co-operation of both.

The situation must be faced squarely by all classes today; it is revolution or social reform. To hide the terrors of it is foolish in the extreme: to minimize conditions that exist not only across the sea but right here, in our own country, would be madness.

Financiers, capitalists, employers, kings (and they are scarce), premiers, presidents, publicists, editors, clergymen, are all groping for the solution of the problem, and the very solution of it is at your own door.

Our problem is to eliminate the parasite. The idle person is no better than a dead one, and takes up more room. The man who lives on the labor of others is a menace to society and to himself. The burden must be lifted from the homemaker, and he is the worker with his hands and head together. Bolshevism will make little headway against the enlightened organized worker of the world, provided his life is worth while living and is not exploited.

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Capital sowed the seed that has brought forth a crop of unrest and discontent — not ORGANIZED LABOR. The problems before us are mighty and vital and hard of solution. We cannot hope to settle them by sporadic action or impulsive rebellion. The flame of Bolshevism that, for the moment, is spreading its poisonous vapor throughout the world and luring men to folly and disaster, will be to no purpose. Instead it will be a victory for labor by the hard steady united pull which spells success.

The spirit of revolt and terrorism threatened everywhere and right here, will only be avoided when the spirit of irritation which feeds the flames of discontent is removed and when energy which may vent itself in violence and destruction shall have been put at work in a constructive way.

The great International Trade Union movement is that constructive force. It is opposed alike to Bolshevism amongst employers as well as employees. It speaks for labor and society in their real and best sense. It champions freedom, justice and democracy against terrorism, injustice and autocracy. The quicker the reactionary employers of all countries — and Canada in particular — realize and respond to this fact, the better it will be for all concerned and for the nation as a whole. Most of the trouble comes from the fact that some men become so imbued with their own particular "ism" and are unwilling to submit to the verdict of the majority. They are impatient and sometimes intolerant and this applies to the "radical" and "conservative".

There is nothing strange about the fact that men who have been in the labor movement for years, are slow to accept innovations that vitally affect the organization that they know has done so much for them and their fellow workers. They have seen some of their associates go chasing after rainbows at different times in the last decade, only to return in due season to the plain, practical everyday methods that get results, and they think not only once but several times when they are asked to accept some new doctrine that is supposed to land the

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workers in the new Utopia over night. Most trade unionists—and I am of that ilk myself — who have been in the movement any length of time have gone through the rainbow chasing period. Their conclusions are printed herewith and they are the result of hard, cold experience: "THE BEST TEACHER IN THE WORLD".

To solve the labor problem is certainly a big task, but it can be done, if all those who have the welfare and interests of the people at heart are willing to co-operate. One of the big means of co-operating is to advocate the enactment by all civilized countries of the new international charter of labor, created and completed after long hours of study and days of toil in sifting the best thoughts of modernism in industry and labor, at the Trades Union Conference, at Berne, Switzerland, last February and adopted later by the International Socialist and Labor Conference.

LABOR CHARTER

Formulated and adopted at the Trades Union Conference, at Berne, Switzerland, February, 1919, and later adopted by the International Socialist and Labor Conference.

"Under the wage system, the capitalist class endeavor to increase their profits by exploiting the workers as much as possible. Such methods, if they are unchecked, undermine the physical, moral and intellectual powers of the workers and their children. They prevent the development and even endanger the existence of Society. The capitalist attempt to degrade the workers can only be entirely removed by the abolition of the capitalist system. But the evil can be strongly mitigated both by the resistance of the organized workers and by the intervention of the State. By this means the health of the workers may be protected and their family life maintained, and they can secure the opportunity of attaining the education needed to enable them to fulfill their duties as citizens in the modern democracy.

"The limits, which capitalism has reached, are very different in the various countries. One of the dangers here involved is that industry and labor of the more progressive countries are injured by a system of sweated labor in the more backward countries. The need to establish an international standard of labor legislation has been rendered doubly urgent by the terrible upheaval and fearful devastation of the life-forces of the people brought about by the war. The foundations of a League of Nations, however, will make it possible to satisfy this need.

"The Berne Conference having taken into consideration the resolutions adopted by the International Trade Union Conference of Leeds and Berne, and without prejudice to any more far-reaching resolutions which may be adopted by

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trade unions, demands that the following minimum requirements, which are already carried out in part in some countries, shall be converted into a code of international law by the League of Nations on the conclusion of peace.

"1. Primary education should be compulsory in all countries and a system of technical education established. Higher education should be established in all countries and should be free and accessible to all. Capacity and aspirations should not be thwarted by the material conditions in which a young person lives. Children under 15 years of age shall not be employed in industrial occupations.

"2. Young persons between 15 and 18 years of age shall not be employed more than six hours a day with a break of 1½ hours after a maximum spell of four hours work. At least two hours of instruction in technical and continuation classes shall be given to the young persons of both sexes, daily, between the hours of 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. The young persons shall be allowed time off to attend the classes. The employment of young persons shall be prohibited (a) between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m., (b) on Sundays and holidays, (c) in especially unhealthy trades, (d) in mines below ground.

"3. The hours of work of women workers shall not exceed four on Saturdays. They shall not be employed after midday on Saturdays. Where exceptions are necessary in certain occupations, the women workers concerned shall be allowed an equivalent half-holiday on another day of the week. Women shall not be employed at night. The employer shall not give women work to do at home after their regular day-work. Women shall not be employed in especially dangerous trades which it is impossible to make healthy, nor in mines, either above or below ground. Women shall not be allowed to work for ten weeks altogether before and after childbirth, six weeks of which shall be taken after the confinement. In every country a system of maternity insurance shall be introduced, providing compensation at least equal to the sickness insurance benefit payable in the country concerned. Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same job.

"4. Hours of work shall not exceed eight a day or 48 a week. Night work between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. shall be prohibited by law except in so far as may be avoidable for technical reasons or from the nature of the occupation. Where night work is allowed it shall be paid for at a higher rate than day work. The Saturday half-holiday shall be introduced in all countries.

"5. Workers shall be allowed a continuous weekly rest of at least 36 hours taken from Saturday to Monday morning. Where the work is such that an exception to the prohibition of Sunday work must be allowed, the weekly rest of 36 hours shall be granted during the week. In continuous industries the shifts must be so arranged that the workers have at least every other Sunday free. Where night work and Sunday work are allowed, they must be paid for at a higher rate.

"6. With a view to the protection of health and prevention of accidents, the daily hours of work shall be reduced below eight hours in dangerous trades. The use of poisonous material shall be prohibited in all cases where it is possible to procure substitutes for them. An international schedule of industrial poisons which are to be prohibited shall be kept. The use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches and of white lead in painting and decorating

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work (both indoor and outdoor) shall be prohibited immediately. The railway waggons of all countries must, within five years, be fitted with automatic couplers adaptable to all waggons.

"7. All laws and orders dealing with the protection of workers shall apply in principle to home industries.

"Social insurance laws shall be extended to home industries.

"Home work shall be prohibited: (a) In the case of work liable to give rise to serious injury to health or poisoning; (b) in food industries, including the making of bags and cardboard boxes for packing articles of food.

"In home industries it should be compulsory to give notice of all infectious diseases. Work in dwelling places where there is infectious disease should be prohibited, suitable compensation being paid. It should be agreed that compulsory lists of all workers and middlemen in home industries shall be kept and inspected and that all the workers should have wages books.

"The medical inspection of young persons employed in home industries should be arranged, and also the inspection of dwelling houses. In all districts where there is home work, wages boards, representative of employers and workers, shall be instituted, with the duty of fixing legal rates of wages. The rates of wages shall be posted up in the workplaces.

"8. The workers shall have the right of free combination and association in all countries. Laws and decrees (domestic service laws, prohibition of coalition, &c.) which place certain classes of workers in an exceptional position in relation to other workers, or which deprive them of the right of combination and association and of the representation of their economic interests, shall be repealed. Immigrant workers shall enjoy the same rights as the workers of the country into which they immigrate, as regards joining and taking part in the work of trade union, including the right to strike.

"Any interference with the exercise of the right of combination and association should be punished.

"Every foreign worker shall have a right to the wages and conditions of work agreed to between the trade unions and the employers of his trade. Where no such agreements exist, foreign workers shall have a right to the wages customary in the locality for their trade.

"9. Immigration shall not be prohibited in a general way. This rule shall not affect:

"(a) The right of any State to restrict immigration temporarily in a period of economic depression in order to protect the workers of that country as well as the foreign immigrant workers.

"(b) The right of any State to control immigration in order to protect the public health and to prohibit immigration for the time being.

"(c) The right of any State to require that the emigrant shall come up to a certain minimum standard in reading and writing his native language, so as to maintain the standard of popular education in the State in question, to enable

labor regulations to be effectively applied in the branches of industry in which immigrants are employed.

"The contracting States undertake to adopt without delay laws prohibiting the engagement of workers by contract to work abroad, putting a stop to the activities of private employment agents in this matter, and prohibiting the admission of workers engaged by contract.

"The contracting States undertake to compile statistics of the state of the labor market based upon the returns of public labor exchanges, and to exchange such statistics at as short periods as possible through an international centre, so that the workers may avoid going to countries offering few opportunities for work. These reports should in particular be communicated to the workers' trade unions.

"No worker shall be expelled from a country on account of trade union action. Appeals against such a deportation shall be dealt with by the ordinary courts.

"10. In cases where the average earnings of the workers (whether men or women) are insufficient to provide a proper standard of living, and it proves impossible to bring about collective agreements between the workers' trade unions and the employers, the Government shall set up wages boards, on which employers and workers shall be equally represented, with the object of fixing legal minimum rates of wages.

"Moreover, the contracting states shall convoke as speedily as possible an International Conference charged to take effective measures against the reduction of value of wages and assure their payment in money which has not depreciated in value.

"11. In order to reduce unemployment, existing labor exchanges in every country shall be linked up in such a manner that they can provide as far as possible prompt and complete information as regards the demand for, and supply of, labor. A system of unemployment insurance shall be set up in every country.

"12. All workers shall be insured by the State against industrial accidents. The claims of workers and their dependents shall be determined in accordance with the law of the country where the undertaking employing the injured worker is domiciled. Laws for the insurance of widows and orphans, and old age and disablement insurance laws, shall be introduced and shall apply equally to persons native to the country and to foreigners. A foreign worker, leaving the country in which he was employed, may be given a sum down instead of annual compensation, if an agreement on this subject has been come to between the State where he was employed and his home country.

"13. A special international code of law for the protection of seamen shall be established. This code shall be drawn up with the collaboration of the seamen's union.

"14. The enforcement of these provisions shall, in the first place, rest with the Labor Departments of each State and their industrial inspectors. The inspectors shall be appointed from the ranks of technical, hygienic and economic

experts, and also shall include workers and employers (both men and women). The trade unions shall assist in the effective enforcement of the labor laws. Employers who employ at least five workers of foreign tongues shall be required by law to post up in the mother tongue of such workers all labor regulations and other important notices and also to arrange at their own expense for such workers to be given instruction in the language of the country.

"15. With a view to the carrying out of this treaty and the further promotion of international labor regulations, the contracting States shall appoint a permanent Commission consisting in equal parts of representatives of the States which are members of the League of Nations and of the International Trade Union Federation. The Commission shall prepare the ground for, and convolve, Conferences of representatives of the contracting States, which shall be held every year to promote international labor legislation. One-half of the voting members of the Conference must consist of representatives of the organized workers of every country. The Conferences shall have to adopt binding resolutions within the scope of the powers conferred upon them."

The application of this, the greatest Magna Charta, the enslaved world has ever seen, means freedom.

Driven from the gates of governments, industrial, political and diplomatic, labor found entrance by a new door, opened on the hinges of co-operation, forged by the Great War.

Look, then, at this charter, expressing only the minimum demands of Organized Labor, which in no remote sense bear the illusory hope of Utopia, and sound all through "broad based on the people's will."

Look at the supreme extremities of the Bolsheviks' regime recorded both in Russia and by world-wide thinkers and leaders. See the two pictures, the maximum of folly and the clear deductions of the charter, which strike the imagination vividly, but do not paralyze the reasoning powers.

These statements, would have sounded oddly enough, even ten years ago, but in this revealed age, they dovetail with the tendencies of the times.

The clumsy theocracies of olden days have faded.

How many employers, legislators, as well as employees, are sufficiently emancipated, to take that charter to heart; to take social co-operation as a means of progress, law as a real restraint,

and education as a state function? Then let them disengage themselves by exercising normal activities.

The solution of the labor problem is as old as Egypt and is embodied in the golden rule: "Do as you would be done by". It drives incarnate anarchy and red revolution back to their sources.

Tranquilizing-assurances sound above and beyond the disturbances of unrest, and the troubled maelstroms that seem to rise in all parts of the world. The light of a better and more complete life gleams like a beacon. The transfiguration of the masses is revealed, not in an unpromised land, but in the world as it is and as it ought to be when the labor Magna Charta may have proved to be the lucky lode star of all labor's strivings.

I hope that these few lines, expressed without pretention, may be read freely, as it is a conscientious effort aimed at silencing a dread menace, most to be feared because of the strain of suffering it entails to humanity. The work is contributed with the conviction that there is more to be gained from the searchlight of cold reasoning, than from dreamy and Utopian theories, for thought transforms moral perversion into virtue and prevents the grafting of ethical principles upon the stock of politics.

Surely, my question is answered: "Bolshevism or Organized Labor—Which?"

